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DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON EVERETT, 1811-1837

(*First Installment.*)

THE originals of the following letters are in the Library of Congress. They are here presented with the courteous permission of the librarian. They are written, with apparently only one exception—the letter of December 6, 1815—in Adams's own hand. They do not give us much definite or particular information concerning any important historical facts, but they help to bring into new and higher relief some of the qualities of the writer, and they possess moreover literary charm which gives them intrinsic interest. Alexander Hamilton Everett, to whom all the letters were addressed, is perhaps best known by his literary work, although he held various public positions of importance. Born in Boston in 1790, he was graduated at Harvard, commenced the study of law in Adams's office, and in 1809 accompanied Adams on his mission to Russia. In 1812 he returned to America and soon afterwards was appointed secretary of the legation to the Netherlands (1815). Again coming back to America he was in 1818 made *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague. In 1824 he gave up this position and in the following year was appointed by President Adams minister to Spain, a position which he retained for four years. Soon after his return to the United States he became editor of the *North American Review*, a journal to which he had already contributed a number of articles, and of which his brother, Edward Everett, had for a time been editor. This position he occupied for five years; and at the same time he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature. For a short period he served as president of Jefferson College, Louisiana, but in 1845 again entered the diplomatic service by accepting the mission to China. He died in Canton, June 29, 1847 (Niles's *Register*, LXXIII. 113, 116). The letters written to him by Adams indicate in some measure the extent of his literary and scholarly attainments. He was master of an unusually good, though we should now say a formal and somewhat stilted, style. He wrote clearly and forcibly on political, financial and economic subjects, as well as on purely literary matters.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

I.

M^r A. H. EVERETT —

S^t PETERSBURG 2. September 1811.

Dear Sir.

M^r Navarro¹ has already one letter from me for you ; but it has been so long written, and his departure has been so long postponed that I am afraid before it reaches your hands it will be quite out of date. Since I wrote it, we have received your favour of 13. August enclosing that of the 11th to M^r Adams.

If you had been travelling in Scotland instead of Sweden, we should certainly have concluded from a passage in the letter of the 11th that the gift of second sight had come upon you by sympathy. The second sight, I understand, beholds things as they happen, twenty-four hours before hand. Your letter of the 11th foresees the singular addition of a fair Russian in our family ; and behold on the 12th the fair Russian actually appeared. To judge from your extasies at the view of the Swedish ladies, and from certain inuendo's concerning the complexions of those you had left behind you, possibly a fair Russian is a marvel, which prophecy itself not even your own prophecy can make you believe.

I thank you much for the trouble you took to copy and send me the abstract from M^r Smith's pamphlet.² I had barely heard before I received your letter that there was such a thing, and it had much excited my Curiosity. Since then I have seen the Aurora of 26. June into which the whole pamphlet is copied. I was very sorry to see it. But there are things for which the proverb tells us there is no help.

Our tide of Americans ebbs and flows here as usual. Since you left us there have been many arrivals and some departures. The stock of your acquaintance remains much the same.

Count Pahlen³ is removed as Russian Minister, from the United States, and goes in the same capacity to the Court of Brazil. M^r Daschkoff⁴ is appointed Minister at Washington in his place. There are four Russian Gentlemen going out in the Dorothea an American vessel bound to Philadelphia — M^r Swietchkoff as Secretary of Legation, M^r Kosloff as Consul General, M^r Swienin as adjoint Consul and M^r Elidsen as private Secretary to M^r Daschkoff.

The week before last an English sloop of War, commanded by Captain Fenshaw, arrived at Reval, escorting four or five English Store-ships laden with sulphur, Saltpetre, lead and gunpowder. Captain Fenshaw wrote to his father and brothers whom you know, requesting to see them. The Store-ships came, despatched from England by the British Govern-

¹ Chevalier Navarro d'Andrade, *chargé d'affaires* from Portugal, with whom Adams had formed a pleasant acquaintance.

² Robert Smith's *Address to the People of the United States*, (Baltimore, 1811), giving an "exposition" of the circumstances which caused his resignation of the Secretaryship of State.

³ Count Theodore de Pahlen, minister to the United States from June 25, 1810, to November 14, 1811.

⁴ André de Dashkov, minister from November 15, 1811, to March 6, 1819.

ment, and their warlike burden, according to the English Newspapers was for the use of the Russian armies, to be employed against the *Common Enemy*. Those Newspapers and the ships arriving here at the same time put us all here into such a fluster, as you, who know the ground will readily conceive. There was much chuckling in one quarter. Some long faces in another. On 'change the whispering, and the buzzing, and the asserting and the denying, and the head-shaking, and the mysterious look of *Wisdom*, lasted longer than usual — four or five days at least. At last it turns out that the Emperor gave permission to General Fenshaw and his Sons to visit their Relation, on board the Sloop of War — and then he and his store-ships received a notification to depart as they came, and that if they did not go with all due speed, their next notice would be that there was still *powder* and *Ball* to spare in Russia, as much as was needed to be employed against the *Common Enemy*.

You speak of having seen Baron Engeström's library at his town-house, but do not tell me whether you had seen the Baron himself. I rather infer that he was in the Country, and of course that you had not an opportunity of delivering to him my letter. I hope you received the packet I sent you by M^r Hochschild.

We are all as well as can be expected, excepting Catherine, who has been three or four days confined to her chamber with a cough and fever; but being this day able to leave it, I hope in a day or two more she will be well again.

I am, Dear Sir, truly yours

A.

II.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — London.

S^t PETERSBURG 28. October 1811.

Dear Sir.

I received only at the close of last week your letter of 20. September, dated at Gothenburg. We had previously heard by letters to others of your friends here, and by accounts of travellers that you had been unwell both at Stockholm and at Gothenburg, and were therefore more than usually anxious to learn from yourself of your entire recovery. Your letter was therefore peculiarly acceptable. I only marvelled that you should have thought an apology necessary for the frequency of your writing. I have been more apt to ask myself what your apology would be for not writing oftener.

I wrote you two letters by M^r Navarro, who we suppose must have overtaken you at Gothenburg. Soon after he took his departure M^r Gray¹ and M^r Jones² left us, and proceeded together for Paris. They will there be so much nearer to you than we are that I suppose you will hear directly from them before this reaches you. M^r Jones expected to go himself to London in December. A few days after they went away there came a

¹ Francis C. Gray, who for a time was attached to the American legation in Russia. Adams's *Memoirs*, II. 3.

² T. K. Jones, a young man travelling in Europe for pleasure.

letter from you to M^r Gray. I forwarded it very soon after by a Courier dispatched by the Ambassador, and as it probably travelled faster than M^r Gray, I hope he will have found it ready for him at Paris. I have had one letter from him, dated at Berlin.

If you have met M^r Navarro, he doubtless will have mentioned to you that he was present at the Christening of my daughter, whose name is Louisa-Catherine. She has hitherto been blessed with excellent health, and I think has much improved that of her mother.

We continued at the residence on the borders of the Nevka,¹ where you left us until the 8th of this Month, when we returned into the City, to a house in the near neighbourhood of that where we dwelt before. The Winter is setting in earlier than it did last year; or the year before; and at the moment when I am writing the Bridges are all displaced, and the river though not yet fixed is full of floating ice.

The report you heard at Gothenburg, of hostilities having already commenced, was, like the story of the Irishman's having been hanged, *premature*. It will be time enough for hostilities next Summer. But General Kutuzoff² has been beating the Turks; and we have had here almost ever since you left us, a Comet in full view, of such a bloody-minded appearance, that the *malignum vulgus* have been swearing the Peace against it without intermission. War or Pestilence you know has been shaken time immemorial from the horrid hair of Comets, and one of them will not be sufficient for this one which all the learned Astronomers tell us has got two tails.

I have not yet had the advantage of meeting either with Silliman's Travels,³ or with the Itineraire.⁴ If the importance of our Countryman's observations is to be measured by the specimen you have selected, I fear he will not be able to stand a contest with the Génie du Christianisme; but M^r Prevost, who has promised me the Itineraire, and has read it himself says there are some important occurrences in that too. Such as a Turk's firing a pistol over his own head, to frighten the traveller; and the traveller's returning the fire in like manner, to shew his intrepidity. Also the history of sundry bastonades which he administered personally to certain other Turks or Jews or some such "circumcised dogs" by way of occasionally relieving his mind from the intensity of philosophical observation. Travellers must have the privilege of sleeping sometimes, but I know not why a Yankey traveller should require more slumber than another. After all, the anecdote told by the Yale Professor is at least more credible than the project of his rival to drain all the rivers of ancient Greece, with one dash of his pen.

¹ Neva?

² Michel Ilarionovitch Kutuzov (1714-1813). From 1809-1811 he made successful war against the Turks. He is now remembered chiefly because of his struggle against Napoleon during the invasion of 1812.

³ Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland and of two Passages over the Atlantic in the Years 1805 and 1806* (New York, 1810).

⁴ *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem et de Jerusalem à Paris*, by Chateaubriand, the first edition of which appeared in 1811.

The most *important* Event of a public Nature, which this City has witnessed since you left it, is the consecration of the Kazan Church which took place about one month ago — and the next was the funeral service over the remains of Count Strogonoff¹ the “*Boyar*”, which was the first religious ceremony solemnized in the Church after its Consecration. It had been entirely built under the superintendence of the Count, as President of the Academy of Arts. He just lived to see the work completed, and died lamenting that as his funeral would be so magnificent, he could not be present to see it.

Among the Americans who have lately arrived here, is an acquaintance of yours, a young M^r Ingraham of Boston. He was at Gothenburg, but on Board ship while you was in that City, and I believe on the very day of the date of your letter, was disappointed of a visit he was going to make you on shore, by a signal to sail.

I am with great regard and esteem, Dear Sir, your friend and h^{bis} Serv^t:

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

III.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq^r — London.

S^t PETERSBURG 26. January 1812.

Dear Sir.

On the cover of my last Letter to you, I minuted the receipt of your favour of 5. Dec^r enclosing the message, which I had received after having closed the letter itself. But M^r Williams, one of our Countrymen, who arrived last Summer at Archangel, being now on his way home goes with a Courier's Pass and my despatches, and I take the opportunity to thank you more particularly for this attention, and the others which you have had both in Sweden and in England of communicating to me important intelligence from our Country.

We are all in a state of convalescence from a certain distemper called the *grippe*. I know not why unless it be because it seizes people by the throat. I have it in express charge to ask you again for the *long* anecdote which you heard at Stockholm and which you did not relate, on the presumption that we had heard it before.

If you were a woman, I would tell you of all the marriages among the batchelors and virgins of this Court that are in a process of consummation or of negotiation. Marriage is to the ladies a topic so interesting per se, that they need no acquaintance, still less friendship with the parties to hear with some sort of feeling of every individual case in which it occurs. But why should I tell you of weddings between People for whom you and I have no other regard than as they belong to the Species.

The political rumours in Circulation are all of a pacific character. Peace with the Turks is supposed to be concluded, but has not yet come in official shape. Peace with France still subsists, and it is said is more

¹ Probably Alexander, Count Strogonov, 1734–1811, grand chamberlain and president of the Académie de Beaux Arts.

likely to subsist further than was expected last Summer. There is another Peace *de facto*, which will probably continue without the assistance of Treaties or Conventions.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Dear Sir, your friend and humble Serv^t

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

IV.

M^r A. H. EVERETT —

S^t PETERSBURG 10. April 1812.

Dear Sir.

I have received your favour of 3. Jan^y from London, forwarded by M^r Navarro, and although uncertain whether this letter will find you still in England, I will not pass by the opportunity of thanking you for it.

Your representation of the state of things in England, though far from being drawn in dazzling or even in gay colours, has I am convinced the more substantial merit of truth. Almost all the English travellers who have for some years past favoured the public with their observations made in America have thought proper to represent our National character as vicious, upon no better foundation than that they had witnessed in America, individual instances of Vice. . The Edinburgh Reviewers, with an eye of philosophical penetration worthy of Peter Pindar's magpie peeping into a marrow-bone, prophecy that the American character, which they pronounce positively bad now, will be greatly improved, when Wealth comes to be more generally *inherited* than *acquired*.¹ If for all the moral and political pollution that the whole manufactory of English dragnets has been able to gather from all the foul bottoms of the American Continent, our improvement from the prevalence of hereditary wealth, is to consist in a substitution of *innumerable* nightly assassinations, burglaries and larcenies — Lud's men² to break stocking weavers' frames, and Irishmen to knock down for sport people as they are coming out of Church — Catholics driven to rebellion by religious persecution, and a master sacrificing his friends, his friendships and his principles for "*Panem et Circenses*", I would put it as a problem to the arithmetical acuteness of the Edinburgh Philosophers, *how much* we shall be gainers by the exchange?

I have seen in some of the newspapers that the Attorney General, Sir Samuel Romilly, in speaking officially of some of those dreadful

¹ In a review of *Travels in America* (London, 1809) by Thomas Ashe. The reviewer is not unfriendly in his tone and does not approve Ashe's efforts to "have us believe that the Americans are universally and irreclaimably vicious." "When wealth comes to be more generally inherited than acquired, there will be more refinement, both in vice and in manners; and as the population becomes concentrated, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, the sense of honor will improve with the importance of character." *Edinburgh Review*, XV. 442.

² The reference is of course to the breaking of machinery in the Luddite riots of the time. As to origin of name see Traill and Mann, *Social England*, V. 841.

enormities mentioned in your letter, lamented them as indications of a character peculiarly vicious in the English Nation. The remark might be proper in a public officer whose duties are in some sort those of a *Censor Morum*, but it would not be liberal in a foreigner, to consider transactions of such a nature as evidences of National Character. I do not so consider them. But they may fairly be taken as presumptive proofs that the representations of unparalleled virtue, and superhuman felicity, which *American* Painters have drawn as characteristic attributes of the English Nation, are as wide from the real truth, as the *Smelfungus* colouring of the British Travellers in America. This contrast of falsehood between the English pictures of America, and the American pictures of England has struck me as peculiarly remarkable, and has in no small degree mortified my patriotic feelings as an American. Its effect in our own Country has been doubly mischievous, by exciting among many of our young minds a disgust and contempt of their Countrymen, and an extravagant and foolish admiration of another Nation. I am very glad that *you* have had an opportunity of observing for yourself the real condition of Nature, of Men and of Society in England. I will not say that its tendencies will be to produce a salutary review of some of your own prejudications; but I hope and believe it will tend to correct some of the prejudices of others. You have doubtless seen much to admire, and you have too much Justice and good-sense to deprecate that which is estimable, for the place where it is found. But there is withal in England a Spirit of arrogant pretension, and a gloss of splendour, which may be seen through, without any great depth of penetration. I am well assured and the persuasion gives me pleasure, that on your return to our native shores you will be able from the heart to say with Voltaire's *Tancrède* "Plus je vis d'Étrangers, plus j'aimai ma Patrie".

As it appears that the British Government, still deem an adhesion to their Orders in Council expedient, I see no prospect of an amicable or indeed of any other arrangement of their disputes with America. Their present professions of amity and conciliation appear to be borrowed from the practice of their own Gentlemen of the Road, who take a Traveller's purse with all possible amenity and decorum. I think however their present partiality to the Orders in Council proceeds from the belief, not without reason, that they will produce a rupture between France and Russia. A very few Months will discover to the World, though probably not to them on what foundations this reliance stands.

You know the only glimpses we can catch of English Literature, are an occasional pamphlet or Review, brought by a Traveller to amuse him on the road. Mr Patterson last Summer brought some of the then latest numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, in one of which I met that *oracular* sentence upon the National Character of the Americans, which I have just alluded to. There too I found a long, and much more amusing account of the *Curse of Kehama*; ¹ it excited the wish to see the Book

¹ *The Curse of Kehama*, by Robert Southey (London, 1810).

itself. The mode of reviewing, practiced by the Edinburgh Critics is new, and they have made it fashionable. They give the title of a book, and then publish a Dissertation of their own upon the subject of which it treats. Their Essays are tinctured with strong prejudices, mingled up with a curious compound of scholastic dogmatism, and fine gentlemanly. I remember reading an Account in one of their former numbers, of a voluminous edition or translation of Sallust, in which they said *they* had been accustomed to read Sallust in books *about the size of a hand at whist*. I read however almost all their Treatises; and many of them with entertainment and instruction. In the Review of the Lady of the Lake¹ there is a disquisition upon the sources of Walter Scott's popularity as a Poet, with which I was very much pleased. Some of its ideas are repeated in the review of Southey's *Curse*—and while they tell us here how Mr Southey does not do so and so like Mr Scott, they inform us on the other hand how Mr Scott does not use the machinery of Mr Southey. *Don Roderick*,² I have not yet seen, but among the readers of Poetry here there are some who have and who say it is the author's Master Piece. That I suppose, is because, as was said to account for the vogue of another book, it is Poetical, Political and Personal. If Don Roderick is a great admirer of Lord Wellington, he ought to give at the same time his candid opinion of the Duke of Albufera.

I condole with you upon the extinction of that illustrious luminary of letters and Science the monthly Anthology.³ If the General Repository of Literature,⁴ gives but once a quarter to the Public as much wit and as much Wisdom, as the Anthology was wont to emit every Month, it will deserve as long a life, and enjoy as fair a prospect of immortality.

It may awaken some of your most familiar, if not your warmest recollections of Russia, to tell you that hitherto, we have scarcely the slightest indication of the breaking up of Winter. In reference merely to the thermometer it has been the mildest of the three that we have overlived here; but the Neva has already been solid very little short of six Months, and the Snow is at this moment as deep or deeper than it has been at any part of the Season. To us it has been a Winter of sickness and affliction. My family remains as when you left us; excepting the addition of our daughter.

I have little to say about the political aspect of affairs, because wherever my letter may find you, it is probable the expected War will have had the start of it. From the manner in which France and Russia are holding the sword over each others head it would seem that both parties "no second stroke intended". All the regiments of Guards have already marched from St Petersburg; the Minister at War, who is

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, XVI. 263-293.

² *The Vision of Don Roderick*, published July 15, 1811.

³ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, published from 1803 to 1811. Everett was himself a contributor. The paper was used by the Anthology Club of Boston as a vehicle of communication with the public.

⁴ *The General Repository and Review*, which began to be published in Cambridge in 1812.

the Commander in Chief of the principal army, and the Grand Duke are gone, and the Master goes perhaps to-morrow. The Ambassador and the Ministers of the Confederation are still here, but on the wing. Two persons of high distinction have been dispatched very lately to Siberia, or — elsewhere.

I am, Dear Sir, ever truly your's

A.

V.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

GHEENT 16. July 1814.

Dear Sir.

The pleasure that I never fail to derive from your Communications has hitherto been attended by two Circumstances, the impression of which upon my mind has been to give them additional value, though in their own Nature such as I could not but regret. The first is the length of time that elapses between them; and the second the lapse of time after they are written, when I have the good Fortune to receive them. Since your return to the United States, this enjoyment has befallen me but twice — first by your letter of 12. February 1813. which I answered on the 10th of the ensuing June; and secondly by yours of 25 June 1813. which in little less than twelve Months from its date was received by me on the Road from Stockholm to Gothenburg, in the Night of the 2^d and 3^d of the last Month. I had myself written to you on the 10th of October 1812. in answer to your last Letter from England, forwarded by M^r Poletica.¹ I am not without apprehension that you have never received this, for I know that a Letter to another of my friends in America, nearly of the same date, and sent by the same conveyance was not received by him so late as in January last. I gave them both to a M^r Jackson of Newbury-Port, whom I furnished with a Courier's Passport, and who also took Dispatches for the Government. I have understood that he arrived in America in March 1813, and I believe that he transmitted to Washington the Dispatches. What disposal of the private letters he made, I am not informed. That for you, I was especially desirous that you should receive in due time, because it contained the Certificate which you had requested in your Letter from London. I would now send you a duplicate of both, but the Certificate would be useless to you, and the Letter has nothing in it to deserve that a second copy of it should be taken, particularly, as I have not here the aid of any Secretary.

I have also reason to fear that my Letter of 10 June 1813. had not been received by you so late as the 16th of March last. I gave it to M^r J. W. Smith, who was going to London, and who died there in February. Other Letters which I sent at the same time by M^r Tilden reached their destination in due Season, but I know that one of the Letters taken by M^r Smith, and which was to my Mother had not been received by

¹ Pierre de Poletica, formerly secretary of legation under Count Pahlen in America.

her, and I have no reason to hope that the others which I committed to the same Gentleman were more fortunate.

If these conjectures are well founded you have not yet since your return to the United States, received one Letter from me, and you have cause to think me a Correspondent more neglectful, or at least deficient in punctuality, than I would willing be thought by any person who takes the trouble of writing to me ; and most especially by you to whom I should be peculiarly solicitous of appearing in the light the most opposite to that of negligence. I mentioned in my last Letter to you that I had received and read with *poetical* Pleasure your brother's *Φ. B. K.* poem,¹ though I had not been equally gratified by its *political* complexion. I have learnt since then, from my Mother, that he has assumed the arduous and honourable task of succeeding our lamented friend Buckminster ; an occasion upon which he might emphatically say "who is sufficient for these things".² I have the satisfaction of being one of the Proprietors in that Church, and I look forward with pleasure to the period, when with my family, I shall be an habitual attendant upon his ministration. I will not promise to agree with him in Politics, nor even in religious doctrine ; but there is one, and that the most essential point upon which I am confident we shall never disagree — I mean Christian Charity.

I regret that with your Letter I had not the pleasure of receiving the copy of your address to the Charitable Fire Society, and I have heard from other Quarters of certain political Speculations of yours, which I have more than one reason for wishing to see. As your design of entering upon the field of public discussion has been carried into Execution, and as American Principles are the foundation of the system to which you have pledged your exertions, you will not doubt the interest which I shall take in every step of your career. Notwithstanding the inauspicious appearances of the present moment, I humbly trust in God, that American Principles will ultimately prevail in our Country. But should it be otherwise ; in the inscrutable decrees of Divine Providence, should the greatness and Prosperity, to which the continuance of the Union cannot possibly fail of exalting our Native Country, be deemed too great for mortal man to attain ; should we be destined to crumble into the vile and miserable fragments of a great Power, petty, paltry principalities or Republics, the tools of a common Enemy's malice and Envy, and drenching ourselves age after age in one another's blood ; far preferable should I deem it to fall in the Cause of Union and of Glory, than to triumph in that of Dismemberment, Disgrace and Impotence. As Christians, whatever befalls us or our fellow men we must submit to the Will of Heaven ; but in *that* case I should be tempted to say with Lucan "Victrix Causa Dis placuit, Sed Victa Catoni."

¹ The subject was "American Poets". See "Tribute to Edward Everett" by George Ticknor, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1864-1865, p. 134.

² Edward Everett, then not twenty years of age, succeeded Joseph Stephen Buckminster as minister of the Brattle Street Church in Boston.

The failure of the attempt at Negotiation under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, by the refusal of the English Government to treat with us under that mediation has long since been known to you; and before this Letter comes to your hands you will have learnt how and why the substituted Negotiation which was to have been held at Gothenburg has been transferred to this City. The Original proposal of Gothenburg, and the removal hither were both suggested on the British side, and merely assented to on our part. I have been here upwards of three weeks, waiting only for British Commissioners, who might at any time be here in three days, and who well know that all the members of the American Mission are here. From these Circumstances you may judge of the disposition of the British Government with regard to Peace, and probably you may have very shortly still more decisive evidence to the same point.

Of the late Revolutions on the Continent of Europe it is scarcely possible to speak without prejudice in reference to the past, or without presumption with regard to the future. The minds of men are still too much heated on all sides to form a deliberate judgment, either upon the nature and tendency of Events, or upon the character and conduct of persons. The only thing of which there can be no question is the overthrow of the Power of France, accomplished by the overthrow of Napoleon Buonaparte. France from the first can scarcely claim the fourth place in the Rank of European Nations. From the Mistress she has become the foot-ball of Europe. It is for the Bourbons to *restore* her to her place, as she, or rather England, has restored them to their's. I wish they may prove adequate to the task.

I am, Dear Sir, sincerely and faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r The Hague.

LONDON 27 July 1815.

Dear Sir

Your favours by M^r Dana, by the two M^r White's, and by your brother had been received by me, since my arrival here; and I had been apprehensive that your voyage would still be postponed; so that your's of the 17th from the Hague would have been an unexpected pleasure, but for the previous arrival at Liverpool of the Panther, one of whose Passengers informed me that she had sailed from Boston, the same day with the Congress.

I congratulate you upon your introduction to the regular diplomatic career. When M^r Smith had concluded last Summer to return to the United States, I wrote to the Secretary of State, requesting that if I was to return to Russia, you might be appointed Secretary to that Legation. As there was then no prospect that the Negotiation at Ghent would terminate in Peace, and consequently none of a mission to this Country, I merely added that if such a mission had been the result of the Negotia-

tion, and confided to me, as I had received notice was the President's intention, I should still have requested that you might be the Secretary to the Legation. That my recommendation of you was earnest I now the more readily avow, because I gave by it a large pledge to the Government of our Country, which it is for you to redeem. I assured the Secretary of State, that in presenting you to the President's Consideration, I was governed more by motives of zeal for the public service, than of personal friendship for you. My Sentiments are still the same. For my own satisfaction, and for the pleasure of your Society I wish that you had received the appointment, as Secretary to this Legation. I shall write to the Secretary of State, and renew the request that you may be appointed to it. But for the public Service, and for your own advantage, you are for the present at least, perhaps as well, perhaps better situated than you would be here. My own residence here will very probably be short. Every American who has resided so long as five or six years in Europe, ought to go home to be *new-tempered*. I recommend this to your future practice, as during my whole life, I have found the benefit, and necessity of it for my own.

At an earlier and more perilous age, you have once passed unhurt through the ordeal of European Seductions and Corruptions. I have the confident hope that one victory will be the earnest of another. But you will not deem it impertinent if I intreat you to "keep your heart with all diligence". The fascinations of Europe, to Americans situated as you are and may hereafter be, present themselves in various and most dissimilar forms — Sensuality — Dissipation — Indolence — Pride, — and last, and most despicable, but not least — Avarice. This though not so common as the rest is not less dangerous and not less to be avoided. It appears in temptations to trading speculation or stock-jobbing, upon the basis of information to which your public station only gives you access. Perhaps you may not be exposed to this species of allurements. And if you should I am sure you will need no warning voice to preserve you from it.

I have many very pleasing recollections of the Country, and particularly of the spot where you reside. I inhabited the Hague, at several different, and always at interesting periods of my life. You will find it necessary to be particularly attentive to your health, as foreigners who reside some time in Holland are often subject to attacks of intermittent fevers. The Hague is however more favourably situated than Amsterdam.

You will oblige me, by enquiring if a family by the name of *Veerman, Saint Serf*, now reside at the Hague; and if they do, by calling upon them, with my compliments and kind remembrance. The Lady, is the daughter of a M^r Dumas, who during the War of our Revolution was agent for the United States at the Hague, and after the War was for some time Chargé d'Affaires. When I was last at the Hague, from 1794 to 1797, she was married to this M^r Veerman and had two or three children. I passed through the Hague last Summer on my way to Ghent, but could not stop even to alight from the Carriage. I have not heard

from this family for many years ; but it would give me great pleasure to be informed of them, and especially of their welfare.

M^r Buchanan does me the favour to take charge of this Letter. He is strongly recommended to me, by several highly respected friends, and I am persuaded you will find in him an agreeable associate. Let me hear often from you, and believe me truly your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — The Hague.

BOSTON HOUSE, EALING — NEAR LONDON 31. August 1815.

Dear Sir.

I find upon my files a friendly and very agreeable Letter from you, dated Boston 28. Oct^r 1814. which I received on the 24th of March last at Paris. I did not then answer it, because I knew already of your destination to Europe, and I can now only acknowledge the receipt of it, because M^r Langdon, who is kind enough to take this Letter, goes immediately, and I have the receipt of two other favours from you to acknowledge. They are of the 3^d and 9th instants, the former by M^r Haven, with a Copy of the new Constitution of the Netherlands, for which I thank you.

Your project of occupying your leisure by a historical sketch of the Country where you reside, I have no doubt will prove useful to yourself and to others. The whole interest of the Dutch history is concentrated in the Period of its existence as a Republic ; which began at the separation of the Country from the dominion of Spain, and ended by the invasion of the French in 1794. There is now again an Independent Government — but it commences as a Monarchy, without any distinctive Characteristic. The Republic is no more ; and the Nation is no longer the same.

Among your occupations I would recommend to you that of making yourself completely master of the French language — to write it, as you do your own. It is the diplomatic language of the whole European Continent, and I wish you to possess it so as never to depend upon a translator. This is the only Country in Europe, where the French is of no use to a foreign legation.

Should I return the ensuing Spring to the United States, as is highly probable, it will be solely with the view of attending to my private concerns ; to see once more my aged Parents, and to devote my time to the education of my Children. I shall have no objects of a public Nature whatsoever ; and to be candid, the conclusive inducement to return will be the want of means to remain where I am.

Wherever I may be, there you will have a sincere and faithful friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r — The Hague.

LONDON 6th Dec^{br} 1815.

Dear Sir

Since I wrote you last, I have had the pleasure of receiving four Letters from you. The first of June 25th 1813 was presented by M^r Coffin ; the second of 31st of July last by your elder Brother ; and the others, of 31st August and 4 of Oct^{br} the receipt of which I should not have been so long in acknowledging, but for an inflammation of the eyes, similar to that with which you may remember I was once afflicted at S^t Petersburg ; but much more severe and of much longer continuance. It has for nearly two months in a great measure deprived me of the use of the pen, and still obliges me to write by another hand.

I am very glad that you have made the acquaintance of my friend, (if I was not speaking of a Lady, I should say, my very old friend) Madame Veerman, and her family. True it is, that I have many times held both her daughters, respectable Matrons though now they be, upon my knees : but that was far from being my first acquaintance with her ; I have seen her as fair a blossom as any of the Gardens of Harlem ever produced ; and in the change of Features upon her countenance, between that period, and the time when I found her married and the Mother of two Children, I have some reason for supposing that the Grandmother of this day must retain few traces of the Virgin bloom which more than thirty years ago I saw upon her face. I pray you to present my best respects to her and to her daughters, who I am glad to hear are married and I hope are well settled in life.

I have been much edified by the philosophical and benevolent reflections which your visit to Bruxelles and the Inauguration or Coronation combined with the Field of Waterloo excited in your mind. They appear to me to be far preferable to the Poetical inspiration which M^r Walter Scott found, or at least went to seek upon the aforesaid field. I have heard and read something before about a week at Bruxelles, and a famous Tree where the Hero who was then *bankrupting* a Nation's gratitude is said to have remained, though not to have reposed, during a part of the first day's action. The Ancient sage Philosopher in Hudibras could prove, you know, that the world was made of fighting and of love, and I cannot imagine any means so effectual for promoting your project of perpetual peace as an enactment of an universal law that the shelter of the Tree of Waterloo shall henceforth be exclusively reserved for the belle Alliance which was sheltered by the Tree of Nivelle.

There was nearly a century ago a poor French Abbé named S^t Pierre,¹ who published in three Volumes a project for perpetual peace between the Powers of Europe which he sent to Cardinal Fleury, whose dear delight was Peace. The Cardinal's answer to him was "vous avez oublié Monsieur, pour Article preliminaire, de commencer par envoyer une

¹ Charles Irénée Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743), Abbé de Tiron. His *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle*, in three volumes, was published in 1713.

Troupe de Missionnaires, pour disposer le coeur et l'esprit des Princes''. This little difficulty suggested by the Cardinal still subsists ; and if in the pursuit of your plan you should avoid committing the Abbé's error, and send your Troup of Missionaries there would still be the chance whether they might be all gifted with the power of persuasion sufficient to ensure their success ; besides the possibility that the Missionaries themselves might require a second band of pacific Apostles, to keep them faithful to their duty.

But not to trifle upon so serious a subject ; Peace on Earth and good will to Men, was proclaimed nearly two thousand years since, by one with whose authority no human power is to be compared. It was not only proclaimed, but the means of maintaining it were fully and most explicitly furnished to Mankind. This authority is acknowledged, and its precepts are recognized as obligatory, by all those who exhibited the practical comment upon it in the Field of Waterloo. It is most emphatically acknowledged, by the most Christian personages who are yet commenting upon it, in the Dungeon's of the Spanish Inquisition, and in the Butcheries at Nismes.

With these results of the holy War for the preservation of social order and of Religion yet glaring before me, I cannot promise you very speedy success in the laudable purpose of eradicating the seeds of discord from the human heart. But if in your disappointment you stand in need of consolation, I recommend to your meditations the Theory of the ingenious M^r Malthus.¹ He perhaps may prove to your satisfaction that the real misfortune of Europe is to be overburthened with Population ; or if he should fail in that, he may at least convince you that the population of Europe is neither more nor less for such Fields as that of Waterloo. The number of Officers who gloriously fell upon that memorable day, made no chasm in the Military establishment of the Conquerors. The London Gazette within ten days afterwards filled up all the vacancies which that day had made in the British Army and M^r Malthus insists that it is precisely the same with the process of population : that wherever one mouth is removed, another will immediately be produced to take its place. If this theory be just, you might perhaps find occasion to re-consider the project of perpetual peace even if it should be practicable : for it would be necessary to take into the account, the mass of glory which you would deprive so many Heroes of acquiring, in exchange for their worthless lives, and also the immense multitudes of little candidates for existence, whom you would cruelly debar from the possibility of coming into life. It would be a sort of murder of the Innocents, that would out-Herod Herod.

I am informed that there is in this Letter a mixture of solidity and

¹ An interesting statement in light of the fact that Everett later devoted considerable attention to the theories of Malthus. See his *Europe: or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Principal Powers with Conjectures on their Future Prospects* (London and Boston, 1822) ; also *New Ideas on Population with Remarks on the Theories of Goodwin and Malthus* (Boston, 1823).

levity which makes it proper to bring it to a conclusion. I have as yet no answer from the Government to the proposal which I made for an exchange which would give me the benefit of your assistance, but I have intimations from a private source, that a different arrangement has been made. I shall regret the circumstance on my own account, though in the present condition of my Eyes, it will probably be an advantageous one to you. I wrote last Week to M^r Eustis, and beg to be remembered kindly to him now ; being with the highest regard and esteem Dear Sir, your friend.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

IX.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Secretary of Legation of U. S. The Hague.

Dear Sir.

EALING NEAR LONDON 16. March 1816.

Since I had the pleasure of last writing you, three of your favours have come to my hands. The first dated 11. March 1815. at Boston, which you had given as a Letter of recommendation to M^r Copeland. By some accident he left it at the New-England Coffee-House in London, where it remained forgotten in a drawer, with several others from my family-relations, from April when M^r Copeland arrived in England, until the beginning of January, when the Master of the Coffee-house found it, and sent it to me. Your second Letter the receipt of which I am to acknowledge is of 13. December last, and was brought by M^r Apthorp. The third of 21. Dec^r introductory to M^r Chad, who is to go out as Secretary of the British Legation to the United States. I have hitherto missed of the pleasure of seeing this Gentleman, but hope to have it this day.

Your Letter of 11. March 1815. principally relates to two subjects, now obsolete enough ; but one of which, the Victory at New-Orleans, will always be in Season, to the memory of Americans ; and the other, the Peace of Ghent, will I hope prove to be likewise composed of durable materials. Judging, as the character of all political measures should be judged, from the existing Circumstances of the Time, the Peace was undoubtedly seasonable, and was probably as good a one as could then have been obtained ; but all who like you, have devoted their lives to the honour and welfare of their Country, will remember that the Peace did not obtain the objects for which the war was waged. From which every mind not besotted by the Spirit of Faction, may draw two conclusions—one of caution against commencing War, without a fair prospect of attaining its objects, as well as a good cause. The other that the object of the last War, must perhaps, and not improbably be fought for again. In an enlarged point of View, the War was much more beneficial than injurious to our Country. It has raised our national character in the eyes of all Europe. It has demonstrated that the United States, are both a military and a naval Power, with capacities which may hereafter place them in both these respects on the first line among the Nations of the Earth. It has given us Generals and Admirals, and subordinate officers by land and sea, to whom we may hereafter look with

confidence for the support of our national rights and interests in War, if the necessity should recur. It has partly removed the prejudice against that best and safest of National defences, an efficient Navy. And it has shewn us many secrets of our own strength and weakness, until then, not sufficiently known to ourselves, and to which it is to be hoped we shall not hereafter wilfully shut our eyes. But some of the worst features in our composition that it has disclosed are deformities which, if not inherent in the very nature of our Constitution, will require great, anxious and unremitting care to enable us to outgrow them. The most disgusting of them all, are the rancorous spirit of faction, which drove one part of the Country headlong towards the dissolution of the Union, and towards a treacherous and servile adherence to the Enemies of the Country. This desertion from the standard of the Nation, weakened all its exertions to such a degree, that it required little less than a special interposition of Providence to save us from utter disgrace, and dismemberment, and although the projects of severing the Union were signally disconcerted by the unexpected conclusion of the Peace, they were too deeply seated in the political systems as well as in the views of personal Ambition, of the most leading men in our native State to be yet abandoned. They will require to be watched, exposed, and inflexibly resisted, probably for many years.

You have doubtless been informed that a few days after I last wrote you, M^r J. A. Smith arrived here, as Secretary of Legation to this Court and since the meeting of Congress his appointment has been confirmed by the Senate. Whether the Government inferred from his personal relation to me, that this appointment would of course be agreeable to me, or whether it was made upon distinct Considerations, and without reference to my wishes at all, I think it necessary, from what had previously passed between you and me to state, that your name is the only one that I ever recommended to the Government for the Office, and that although I knew he had been recommended for it by others, his appointment to it, was altogether unexpected by me, until I was informed it had actually taken place.

It is natural that you should entertain some solicitude, with regard to your future prospects, and your idea is just that the situation of Secretary to an American Legation in Europe is no permanent Prospect for a condition in Life. The Government of the United States have no system of diplomatic gradation, and the instances of Persons who have commenced as Secretaries of Legation, and afterwards received higher appointments have been very few. But the reason of this has been, because most of the Secretaries have been young men, who obtained the appointments by the influence and solicitations of their friends, and who after obtaining them think much more of their own pleasure than of the public service. They come to Europe not to toil, but to enjoy, To dangle about Courts, and solace themselves for the rest of their lives, with the delightful reflection that Kings or Princes have looked at them — to see sights — to frequent theatres, Balls, Masquerades and fashionable Society.

I speak not of those who have sunk into baser and more vicious pursuits. Nor of those who come to make themselves scientific, or virtuosi. Scarcely one in fifty ever came to do his duty, and nothing but his duty, Or to devote his leisure to the acquisition of the proper diplomatic knowledge. The habits of life into which they fall relax their industry into indolence and turn their activity to dissipation. They go home with heads as empty, and with hearts fuller of vanity than they came — generally with a hankering to return to Europe, and almost always with a distaste to the manners, and institutions of their own Country. Disdaining or disqualified to take a part in its public affairs, and incapable of making themselves necessary, either to the General Government, or to any of the political parties in the Country.

Nothing of all this applies to you. Had your station been assigned to the Mission here, you would have found that the mere drudgery of the Office would have absorbed all, and more than all your time. At the Hague you have much leisure, and I am quite sure you are making good use of it. You will never for an instant forget that you are responsible to your country for the employment of every hour. That every moment not devoted to the discharge of present duty, must be given to the acquisition of future capability. You will never adopt the fancy of the School-boy, who left School and went home, because he had *learnt out*. But as you have asked my advice, I cannot in candour recommend it to you, to remain long in your present station under the idea that it will lead to something better. After a suitable period, properly employed, I should say, return home, and resume your station at the Bar. Take an interest and exercise an influence in the public affairs. You must steel your heart, and prepare your mind to encounter multitudes of political enemies, and to endure all the buffetings, without which there is no rising to distinction in the American world. When the knaves and fools open upon you, in full pack, take little or no notice of them, and be careful not to lose your temper. Preserve your private character and reputation unsullied, and confine your speculations upon public concerns to objects of high and national importance. You will certainly be favoured with no Patronage, political or professional by the prevailing party at Boston, but you must make your way in opposition to and in defiance of them. Their system is rotten to the core, and you may render essential service to the Nation, by persevering exertions against it. I will give you one word, which you may lay down as the foundation of the whole political system, to which you may boldly and safely devote from this moment all the energies of your character, all your talents and all your Genius — that word is *Union*. Let that be the centre, from which all your future exertions emanate, and to which all your motives tend — let your conduct be at once bold, resolute, and wary — preserve inflexibly your personal independence, even while acting in concurrence with any party, and take my word for it, you will not need to go in search of public-Office, at home or abroad. For Public-Office, at home or abroad, at your option will soon come in search of you.

Be good enough to present my best remembrance to M^r Eustis, to whom I am yet indebted for a letter, and propose shortly to write. M^r Apthorp did not bring Turreau's book upon America.¹ That illustrious Vendean General told me last Spring that he intended to publish a Book against us. I did not think the worse of him or of ourselves for that. *Laudari a laudato* has a counterpart, which will easily reconcile me to his vituperation.

Our accounts from the United States, do not appear propitious to your projects of perpetual Peace. Onis the Spaniard,² they say, has sprung a mine at Washington and gone off. But I have not room to expatiate, and must remain ever faithfully yours.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

X.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston.

WASHINGTON 28. Sept^r 1817.³

Dear Sir.

During the few days that I passed at Boston, I called several times both at your house and at your Office, for the purpose of having some conversation with you as well upon the subjects referred to in your Letter of the 23^d inst^t which I received yesterday, as upon some others. My last visits were on the day before I left Boston to come here, when I found at your Office door a notice that you was out of town, and was informed at your house that you and your Lady were gone upon an excursion to Portsmouth. I seriously regretted the Circumstance, as I was desirous of communicating with you more fully and more confidentially, than either my time, or some other considerations will admit of in writing. This however is now the only remaining expedient of intercourse between us, and I take the hour before the dawn of the day of rest, for the purpose.

I arrived here on Saturday the 20th inst^t and saw the President the same evening. He was obliged to leave the City again on Monday Morning for his Seat in Virginia, and the only conversation that I had with him was upon objects concerning which he had instructions to leave with me. Upon his return I will not fail to mention your Letter to him, and ascertain if he received it.

If you will transmit to me your accounts with the United States, with the vouchers if there are any, I will deliver them over to the Auditor for the Department of State, and attend to their being passed through the various offices for settlement.

¹ *Aperçu sur la Situation Politique des États-Unis d'Amérique*, par le Général Turreau, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire de France aux États-Unis d'Amérique (Paris, 1815).

² Don Luis de Onís, minister from Spain. The allusion is probably to his efforts to bring about the prosecution of persons threatening the Spanish possessions. *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, IV. 422.

³ Mr. Adams had now become Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Monroe.

With regard to your return to the diplomatic career, I consider the prospect of your services to the public in that line, as so favourable, that I shall not hesitate to recommend you to the President for employment, if any situation should present itself, in the class of those which would be acceptable to you.

From the Correspondence of M^r Eustis,¹ it appears to be his intention to return next Spring, to the United States ; unless in the meantime, a Minister of rank corresponding to his, should be appointed by the King of the Netherlands to reside here. Should he return, a Chargé d'Affaires will I presume be appointed to reside at that Court, and as the President in anticipation of such an Event had already offered you the situation, I suppose, and so far as I may expect to be consulted in the selection, intend that it shall be offered to you again. I am not inclined without a clear and obvious propriety to multiply the diplomatic agents of the United States in Europe, and probably the next Congress will be as little disposed as I am to aggravate unnecessarily the public expences in that department. But before I left England I was informed that the King of Prussia had appointed a Charge d'Affaires to the United States, and I was led to expect that he would before now have arrived in this Country. Should such an event take place, the appointment of a person with the same character may be judged advisable, and may perhaps meet the sanction of Congress. In that case, or in any other that may occur of a similar nature, in which I can with propriety present your name to the President, you may be assured I shall be neither backward nor cold in recommending you.

I have read all the numbers upon the present State of England, that have been published since I landed at New-York,² and am sure I shall take great pleasure in reading the remainder. That they have been received by the public with more attention than they deserve is by no means my opinion. That they should have been ascribed to me would have been one of the highest compliments that could have been paid me, if I could have recognized as mine, many of their sentiments. But the argument against the theory of the checks and balances, would scarcely have been decent from my pen, if I had even been convinced of its correctness, which I am not. It would have been inconsistent too with the opinions which I have always avowed ; and particularly with a series of papers which in the year 1791. I published in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of *Publicola*. They encountered instead of flattering the prevailing prejudices of the time, and were very unpopular. They are now and have been long since forgotten by the Public, but I am not conscious of having changed any important opinion contained in them.

¹ William Eustis, 1753-1825, member of Congress 1801-1805 and 1820-1823 ; Secretary of War 1807-1813 ; minister to Holland 1814-1818 ; governor of Massachusetts 1823-1825.

² "Letters to a Friend on the Present State of England," published in the *Patriot and Chronicle* and reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning June 17, 1817, and some of them at least in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* beginning June 17.

Their view of the British Constitution is altogether different from yours, and although I do ample Justice to the ingenuity of your argument against Montesquieu, I have not been convinced by it. I cannot compress into this short Letter an argument that would exhaust a volume, and probably leave you on your side "of your own opinion still," but to deal with you in perfect candour, your view of the British Constitution, of its operation, and I might perhaps add of the present State of England, is not impartial. If you and Walsh¹ were Painters and had to take the Portrait of a one-eyed man, you would both paint him in profile but your picture would shew the blind and his the seeing side. He would conceal the loss of the eye, and you would represent the man as blind. You know it is a trite maxim in natural philosophy that a mathematical truth is a physical falsehood. The practice of no machine ever corresponds precisely with its theory. What would you say to an Englishman who should aver that the Constitutions of the United States are all impostures, and that we have nothing but a Government of Caucuses? These are Engines unknown to our Constitutions and Laws, but not less operative upon the Administration of our Governments than what Cobbett calls the borough-mongering faction is upon that of England. As to the general state and condition of the Country, I must say that no Country or People that I have ever visited, present more solid, more numerous or more noble topics for panegyric than England. That she presents at the same time numerous topics for the severest and most indignant reprobation is equally true. Your papers are admirably calculated to eradicate from the minds of our Countrymen, every prejudice in her favour. To do her entire Justice would require another series of Essays, an eye more upon the search for the forms and a hand more ready for the delineation of beauty. The eye and the hand are your own; and why should the disposition be wanting? You have a heart, not insensible to beauty, physical, moral or intellectual — why should you hide its feelings from itself? You know that the Agriculture of England is superior to that of any other Country — That in most of the useful, and some of the ornamental Arts, she is surpassed by none — That her learning, literature and Science equal if they do not exceed those of any other Nation — That in arms she stands at least upon a level with the first military Nations of the age by land, and that she reigns but too triumphant and unrivalled upon the Ocean. Is all this the result of despicable or pernicious institutions? If England had no other claim to reverence than that of having founded the Colonies, which are now your Country and mine, her solid and unquestionable glory would transcend all Greek, transcend all Roman fame. France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, have founded Colonies as well as England; — look at them,

¹ Robert Walsh, 1784–1859, wrote *A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government, including a View of the Taxation of the French Empire* (1810, several editions). Its tone was favorable to England. His best known work is *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1819).

and look at the United States. And what is the cause of the difference between them? English Institutions, Principles and Manners. Milton tells us that the very Spirits reprobate lose not all their virtue, and has accordingly endowed his fallen Angels, with virtues of the highest order. He has given the Devil his due, and I think you should do the same with England.

I believe there is a little account between you and me to settle, for the two years that you was in my Office, before our departure for Europe. I mention it now, not for the sake of asking you for the settlement, for that shall be entirely at your convenience, but because never having been adjusted it may perhaps have escaped your recollection.

With my best Respects for your Lady, and the highest esteem and regard for yourself, I remain, dear Sir, ever faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

XI.

ALEX^r H. EVERETT Esq^r Boston

WASHINGTON 23. Nov^r 1817.

Dear Sir.

I congratulate you very cordially upon your success at the Election. I certainly know not a man in our district more calculated to represent it with dignity to the Nation with honour to himself, and with advantage to his Constituents than M^r Mason.¹ I am also highly gratified with the moderation, the conciliatory Spirit, and the good management, which the republican party at Boston have so remarkably manifested on this occasion, and am not a little amused with the anti-climax of address and temper with which the *Wise Men of the East*, have contrived to put themselves in a minority, at a place where they have for several years had majorities of two to one, for whatever and whomsoever they pleased. It has given me great pleasure to see the influence of your personal exertions in this affair, and I had already recognized your hand in the two pieces in the Patriot, and Chronicle before you sent them to me. The Editors of that paper have not many such Correspondents, and ought to be sensible of it. The decorum and moderation, the recurrence to sound principles and at the same time to popular topics of persuasion, in the neat, and easy Style, so well suited to the temper of the times, and to Newspaper discussion, are not very common in the "five hundred daily Newspapers" that our good-natured Countrymen are content to read. The view of parties has already been transplanted at least into one other Newspaper. A distinction rare indeed for political speculations written merely to bear upon a local election. It is succinct, in the main just, and peculiarly suited to produce the proper impression at the time. A Federalist might perhaps insist that with all the extravagances, and intolerances, and absurdities, and almost Treasons of his party, they have nevertheless rendered the most important and durable services to the Common Country—That if at one period they drove headlong to the

¹ Jonathan Mason, 1750–1831. He had held public office on previous occasions. He served as Federalist Representative from Boston, 1817–1820.

dissolution of the Union, they saved it from the assaults of their opponents at another — That the Constitution of the United States, is peculiarly their's — That the Navy and its glories, are in a peculiar sense their's, and that if in the late Stages of the French Revolution, the horror of its excesses, and the terror of its gigantic despotism drove them into a delirium of subserviency to England, the delirium of their antagonists in favour of that same Revolution in its earlier stages, was equally extravagant, and of a tendency not less pernicious. A faithful and impartial, and philosophical history of our *Parties*, from the formation of our Union would be a most valuable and instructive work, and the time is now come when it might be written without danger to the author. Carey's *Olive Branch*¹ is an imperfect attempt at such a work, and is already at its tenth Edition. But one great defect of that Book, is that Carey, born an Irishman, has always been himself in this Country a violent partizan of the democratic party, and that all his acknowledgments of faults on that side are apologies; while all his enumerations of faults on the other side are charges. The essential Spirit of all confession is palliative; that of all accusation is aggravating. Carey's book would be a proof of this, if it were not in proof from almost every thing else. And as to philosophical speculation, reference to the general principles of human Nature, or comparison with the operations of party in other free Nations, or delineations of individual characters, no such thing is to be found in the book. It is an old joke that a good historian ought to have neither religion nor Country; but it is hardly to be expected that an impartial history of a struggle between two parties should be written by an actor in one of them.

I regret very much not having seen the printed vote of the Central Committee to which you allude; but after the secession of two such members as Gen^l Welles and Major Russell, I can scarcely conceive the blindness of the rest in pushing their Candidate against M^r Mason. This however appears to me clear — That it has *broken their line*, and if the republicans continue their party management in the same Spirit, they cannot fail to have the very next year the Majority in both branches of the Legislature; the selection of the Council; and with regard to the town of Boston, from henceforth the full weight to which they are entitled by their numbers, and by the respectability of character of those whom they recognize as their leaders.

I should think the second of the two plans, suggested by you as likely to be adopted at the next Spring Elections, as in every point of view the best; and particularly since this election of M^r Mason to Congress. First because I trust he will be a very weighty and influential member of the House of Representatives, and should exceedingly regret the loss of his Services there so soon. I have understood that M^r Brooks² serves with some reluctance in the Office of Governor, and would probably not chuse

¹ *The Olive Branch*, by Mathew Carey, a well-known book (1814 and many later editions).

² John Brooks, 1752–1825, governor 1816–1823.

to continue in service long. He could have no better successor than Mr Mason, whose service in the meantime in Congress will I trust be as useful even to the State as it would be in the Governor's Chair. Secondly, I doubt whether the Republicans could split hairs of principle with sufficient accuracy to find a distinction, upon which they could justify themselves in turning out Mr Brooks, to put Mr Mason in his place. If during the late War, Mr Brooks, was in some degree implicated in the misconduct of the Massachusetts State Government, by his official Situation, his Sentiments were undoubtedly the same as those of Mr Mason. His situation may have prevented him from expressing them so freely ; but what censure upon the policy of his predecessor could have been stronger, or more keenly felt, than his Silence, concerning it, and the totally different policy that he announced in his first Speech to the Legislature. Nor can I forget that in that very war, he had a son, who died in the Cause of the Country. Thirdly, I think you would still fail in carrying the Election against Brooks. By adopting him they the Republicans would make another and most effectual step towards conciliation, and harmony ; and could scarcely fail to carry a majority into both branches of the Legislature. I can scarcely imagine how this should be more difficult to accomplish throughout the State ; than it would be for the Republicans to set up another federalist, merely for the sake of displacing Brooks.

Enough upon a subject which as you observe is out of my Sphere. From a Conversation that I have had with the President, I am apprehensive that when Ebeling's Library comes, I shall have it left upon my hands.¹ I should be glad of this if I could afford either the prime cost of it, or a place where it could be safely kept, till I shall have leisure to make suitable use of it myself. But as my means are not adequate to this, I expect to be under the necessity of disposing of the Books or of the greatest part of them, upon the best terms that I can obtain. My determination to purchase them was founded upon the Confidence that I reposed in your brother's judgment, and a feeling of shame that such a Collection, so peculiarly interesting to this Country, in a National point of view, should be lost to it, and scattered over Europe for the want of a few thousand Dollars. But the President is of opinion that 150 Volumes would comprize all the books relating to America, worth having in the Library of Congress, and probably three fourths of them are already there. My deference to his judgment has very much staggered my Confidence in my own, and a little damped the sanguine temper with which I had entered into yours and your brother's feelings. I will yet however not countermand the order which I authorized you to give him for the purchase, but must request you in writing to him, to enjoin upon him, not upon any consideration to exceed the limits which I prescribed in regard to the cost, either by any addition to the sum, or by any deduction from the books. I shall find it hard enough to carry the thing through, as I have undertaken it, but I am still bent upon securing the whole collection to ourselves. Ask your brother also to have the good-

¹ See *post*, pp 114-115.

ness to forward to me as soon as possible, a Catalogue of the Library. I would write to him, but am uncertain where he now is. Can you inform me? I understood it was his intention to pass the next, or rather the present Winter, in England.

I am ever faithfully your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I give you joy of the opponent that your Letters upon England have found — Such an antagonist is worth ten panegyrics.¹

P. S. 2. Nov^r 25. I have received your Letter of the 20th which was already answered by mine of the 16th. M^r Eustis has got a Secretary, and if there should be any mission to Prussia it will not be sooner than next Summer, and then — how many Candidates!

XII.

ALEX^r H. EVERETT. Èsq^r—Boston

WASHINGTON 29. December 1817.

Dear Sir.

Your Letter of the 16th has been a full week upon my unanswered file, and I am now obliged to answer it very imperfectly. The Newspapers mention that M^r Eustis has gone to pass the Winter at Paris, and has left M^r Appleton as Chargé d'Affaires at the Hague. I suppose this is true though we have no notice of it. My last Letter from M^r Eustis, is of 4. October, from the Hague, and its symptoms instead of indicating an intention of speedy departure, rather disclose a willingness to be detained even beyond the period of the ensuing Spring. No necessity for any such detention is supposed here to be likely to arise; but if circumstances should occur to render the homeward voyage inconvenient next Spring, it may perhaps be postponed for another year. I have no particular reason for this surmise, other than that Gentlemen abroad who have projects of returning home do not like to be hurried.

I have not seen the Article upon Peace Societies in the North American Review; nor the Review itself.² But if our Peace Societies should fall into the fashion of corresponding upon the Objects of their Institution with foreign Emperors and Kings, they may at some future day find themselves under the necessity of corresponding with Attorney Generals and Grand and Petit Juries at home. Philip of Macedon

¹ Answers to Everett's articles appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. They were reprinted in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* beginning November 20, 1817.

² An article by Everett in the *North American Review*, VI. 25, is a review of *The Friend of Peace*, Nos. 1-8, by Philo Pacificus, one of a series of publications issued by a member of the Peace Society of Massachusetts. That Everett's early inclination to the acceptance and promulgation of peace plans and theories continued in later life may be judged from the article. "What can be more thoroughly and essentially *chimerical*, *absurd*, and ridiculous, than the pretence of settling a disputed boundary, or a doubtful passage in Grotius by arranging fifty or a hundred thousand men in two opposing lines, and compelling them to shoot each other down?" *N. Am. Rev.*, VI. 44.

was in very active correspondence with a Peace Society at Athens; and with their co-operation baffled and overpowered all the Eloquence of Demosthenes. Alexander of the Neva, is not so near nor so dangerous a neighbour to us, as Philip was to the Athenians, but I am afraid his love of Peace is of the same character as was that of the Man of Macedon. Absolute Princes, who can dispose of large masses of human force, must naturally in applying them, be aided by all the pacific dispositions that they can find or make among those whom they visit with the exercise of their power. In the intercourse between *Power* and *Weakness*, Peace, in the language of the former, means the submission of the latter to its will. While Alexander, and his Minister of Religious Worship, Prince Galitzin, are corresponding with the Rev.^d Noah Worcester,¹ upon the blessedness of Peace, the venerable founder of the Holy League is sending five or six ships of the line, and several thousand promoters of peace armed with bayonets to Cadiz, and thence to propagate good will to man elsewhere — whether at Algiers, at Constantinople, or at Buenos Ayres we shall be informed hereafter.

The mention of Buenos-Ayres, brings to my mind an Article that I have lately seen in the Boston Patriot, and which I concluded was from your pen. Its tendency was to shew the inexpediency and injustice there would be in our taking side with the South-Americans in their present struggle against Spain. It was an excellent Article, and I should be glad to see the same train of thought further pursued. As for example by a discussion of the question in political morality by what *right* we could take side? and who, in this case of a civil War, has constituted us the *judges*, which of the parties has the righteous Cause? then by an enquiry, what the Cause of the South-Americans is, and whether it really be as their partizans here alledge, the same as our own Cause, in the war of our Revolution? Whether for instance if Buenos-Ayres, has formally offered to accept the Infant Don Carlos as their absolute Monarch, upon condition of being politically Independent of Spain, their cause is the same as ours was? Whether, if Bolivar, being at the head of the Republic of Venezuela, has solemnly proclaimed the absolute and total emancipation of the slaves, the cause of Venezuela is precisely the same as ours was? Whether in short there is any other feature of identity between their Cause and ours, than that they are as we were Colonies fighting for Independence. In our Revolution there were two distinct Stages, in the first of which we contended for our *civil rights*, and in the second for our *political Independence*. The second as we solemnly declared to the world was imposed upon us as a necessity, after every practicable effort had been made in vain to secure the first. In South-America, Civil Rights, if not entirely out of the question, appear to have been equally disregarded and trampled upon by all parties. Buenos Ayres has no Constitution; and its present ruling powers are established

¹ Noah Worcester, 1758-1837, secretary of the Peace Society 1816-1828, is credited not only with editing but with writing most of the *Friend of Peace*, issued periodically, 1815-1818.

only by the arbitrary banishment of their predecessors. Venezuela though it has emancipated all its slaves, has been constantly alternating between an absolute Military Government, a Capitulation to Spanish Authority, and Guerillas black and white, of which every petty chief has acted for purposes of War and Rapine as an Independent Sovereign. There is finally in South-America neither unity of cause, nor unity of effort as there was in our Revolution. Neither was our Revolution disgraced by that buccaneering and piratical Spirit which has lately appeared among the South-Americans, not of their own growth, but I am sorry to say, chiefly from the contamination of their intercourse with us. Their privateers have been for the most part fitted out and officered in our Ports, and manned from the sweepings of our Streets. It was more effectually to organize and promote this patriotic system, that the expeditions to Galveston and Amelia-Island were carried into effect, and that successive gangs of desperadoes Scotch, French, Creoles, and North-Americans, have been constituting the Republic of the Florida's. Yet such is the propensity of our people to sympathize with the South-Americans, that no feeble exertion is now making to rouse a party in this Country against the Government of the Union, and against the President for having issued orders to put down this Nest of freebooters at our doors.

Your preparations for the next Spring Elections in Massachusetts, appear to be judicious, and I hope they will be successful. I neither see or hear anything more of the Brighter Views, nor of Old North than what you tell me ; and there is at present not much to be apprehended from the authors of either of them.

We have the prospect of a troublesome Indian War in the South ; and its bearings upon our political affairs may be more extensive and important than is expected.

I am, Dear Sir, very sincerely your's

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIII.

A. H. EVERETT Esq! — Boston

WASHINGTON 6. April 1818.

Dear Sir.

I have received your Letter, enclosing the draft upon Baltimore for 900 dollars, which when received shall be applied conformably to your desire. I have also your favour of 31. ult^o. A Letter from your brother, of 23 January at Paris has informed me, that while he was in treaty for the purchase of the Ebeling library for me, with a prospect of obtaining it, though the price demanded for the whole was something beyond the sum that I had limited, he received another order, to purchase it for Harvard University, without limitation of price. He therefore justly considered mine as superseded ; as the only object which I could propose to myself was that the possession of the treasures, to this Country should at all Events be secured ; while my limited means would neither admit of my keeping them myself, nor of my making a donation of them

to one of our Public Institutions. I rejoice that another person has undertaken to carry into effect, that which I could only have partially accomplished; and most especially that our dear Alma Mater will receive the precious deposit.¹

A joint Resolution of the two Houses of Congress has passed for adjourning on the 20th of this Month; and they are to meet again on the first Monday of November. The present Session will stand remarkable in the Annals of our Union, for shewing how a Legislature can keep itself employed, when having nothing to do. It has been a Session of breaking ground; more distinguished as a seed-time than as a Harvest. The proposed appropriation for a Minister to Buenos Ayres, has gone the way of other things lost upon Earth — like the purchase of Oil, for Lighthouses in the Western Country.

From the Moment that the Massachusetts Republicans resolved to be in a minority upon the choice of Governor, there could be no hope of an effective Coalition for the choice of Senators. The complexion of the Legislature for the ensuing year, is of more importance to the interests of the Commonwealth, than to those of the Union. Perhaps at the end of the next *political* year, as it is the fashion in this Country to call it, the disposition of parties will be more favourable to harmony and good feelings than it is now.

M^r Eustis by the last accounts we had from him was at Marseilles. His health much improved. He was to return to the Hague in March, and to embark upon his return home in April or May.

Very faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XIV.

A. H. EVERETT Esq^r. Boston.

WASHINGTON 22. June 1818.

Dear Sir.

When I advised you never to solicit a public office for yourself, I did not mean to preclude you from the exercise of your influence in favour of your friends. It would have given me pleasure if your brother could have received one of the two new Appointments of Appraisers of goods at Boston; and your Letter recommending him was laid before the President. But the appointments were regularly made through the channel of the Treasury Department, and the choices had been fixed upon before your Letter was received.

My advice to you was founded upon the opinion that your talents and services would of themselves operate as a sufficient recommendation of you, for any office which may be a worthy object of your ambition.

¹“ In 1818 Colonel Israel Thorndike, of Boston, bought for \$6,500 the American library of Professor Ebeling, of Germany, estimated to contain over thirty-two hundred volumes, besides an extraordinary collection of ten thousand maps. The library was given by the purchaser to Harvard College, and its possession at once put the library of that institution at the head of all libraries in the United States for the illustration of American history.” Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, I. iii.

When you re-enter the diplomatic career, the opportunity of rendering useful service, will be in your hands. Its judicious improvement will be the best of recommendations.

M^r Eustis was expected at the Hague on the 15th of April, and was to embark shortly afterwards for the United States. His arrival may now be daily expected. I have received a Letter from him, giving the explanations which I had requested of the passages in former Letters of his relating to you, of which you have had notice. They are entirely satisfactory, and honourable to you. It is of course very desirable that if you should meet him on his return home, you should not in any manner give him to understand that you have had notice of his remarks concerning you, which have given you uneasiness. They were on his part quite confidential, and as now appears, written without any unfriendly disposition or intention towards you. It was proper on the prospect of your re-appointment to an important public trust that their full import should be unequivocally ascertained, as they have been to the complete justification of your character.

M^r Campbell¹ is to proceed in the course of a few days to Boston, to embark in the frigate *Guerriere*, for Russia. But the President does not think proper to make the appointment of a Charge d'Affairs to the Netherlands until after the arrival of M^r Eustis in this Country, and it is probable that the frigate will go, not through the channel, but North about.

Since beginning this Letter, I have received one from M^r Eustis, dated, at the Hague 21. April. He was making preparations for his departure, and still expected to embark, about the beginning of May.

I remain, very faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

XV.

A. H. EVERETT. Esq^r Boston.

WASHINGTON 4. Aug^t 1818.

Dear Sir.

I shall in the course of a few days send you a Commission and Instructions as Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands. I give you this notice that you may be making your preparations for departure without delay. Your Salary will commence from the time of your leaving home to proceed on the Mission. For the whole or any part of the outfit you may draw immediately on the Department of State. Go as directly as possible to the place of your destination, and be very cautious not to absent yourself from it without permission, or unless upon motives of Public Service. And for the last time let me intreat you to observe the most rigorous punctuality with regard to your Accounts.

Faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(To be continued.)

¹ George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, envoy to Russia 1818-1821.